/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the [224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale. [242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the [171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn [231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [414 5 28] powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [678] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 752 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 171 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/26 cont'd/

231 The greatest number of domestic animals owned by a single Miao family never exceeds a few heads if it owns any at all. This
231 is due to several reasons: (1) The Miao are a propertyless people.
511 They are generally very poor and do not have enough capital to buy cattle. (2) Since their life is uncertain, without their staying settled for a long period, animal husbandry is not likely to flourish. It is not easy for them to herd a large number of animals while they themselves move from place to place. (3) Cattle are always helpful for ploughing fields, but not every Miao family owns level fields which can be tilled by animal power; consequently raising cattle is not popular among them.

233 In raising cattle, the Miao have adopted a method of letting them graze on the uncultivated land. They simply let the cattle roam in the mountains, neither fastened with rope nor guarded by herders. Except that each animal bears the brand of its owner, the cattle move completely at will. These cattle are very wild and are hard to control. Once during a wedding ceremony, I saw the host send some men with guns out into the mountains to shoot his own cattle for meat to feast his guests. Their horses are also set free without bits or bridles. /27/ Not until they are needed for riding does the owner begin to search for them in the uncultivated
556 areas. The rearing of horses, however, is limited to only a few relatively wealthy families; the ordinary family does not raise horses. The dog is the most popular animal and can be found in almost every family, because it is indispensable in hunting. In addition, pigs and chickens are also raised. Owing to the scarcity of wet rice fields, however, geese and ducks are very rare.

5. Fishing

226 Though the Miao usually live high in the mountains, it is not unusual for them to go down to the streams to fish. Their fishing gear is exactly the same as that of the Li. They have fishing nets,
227 tun, sàr co, lung, tun kū, and fishing lines. (For a description of the fishing gear and its use, consult my work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island. There is no need to discuss them

622 /132 cont'd/
217 Upon leaving, we presented him with some gifts, for which he thanked us profusely.

123 /133/ In order to get pictures of the t'iao niang, at four o'clock in the afternoon, we had Mr. Wu Jui-lin act as the sick person and asked several "old women" to perform the t'iao niang in the drying yard at Mr. Chao-i's home. Perhaps because they perceived our intentions, they did not act as naturally as they normally would have. It was a half-hearted performance, for which we paid them four dollars and, in addition, a small pig, which were taken away and divided among them.

231 In the evening we watched Mr. Chao-i training his wild horses in his fish pond /sic/. His expertness in the training was much admired by us.

Second month, twenty-fifth day. (Thursday)

115 It had been reported that Headman Lu of Ang-chi village would conduct a tso chai for his dead brother on the three days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of the month. We decided to go to that village and stay there in order to observe this carefully, and at the same time to get a better look at the general conditions of living of the Miao. Mr. Chao-i gave us a rich farewell banquet with pigs and lambs, to which he also invited several other Li headmen of the vicinity. After the feast, we left for Ang-chi village. There we
122 rested for a while, and then went to Chih-pao village where we wished to borrow Headman Teng's family heirlooms, such as the pictures of gods and the Taoist books for photographing. Mr. Yang Cheng-chih, Mr. Wu Jui-lin, Mr. Chiang Ying-liang, and Mr. Kuang Pe-ngo were to leave from here for Ta-ch'i, and then they would take the route to Wu-chih /"five fingers"/ Mountain to make their investigation. Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung and I were to return to Ang-
000 chi and were to stay in this Li and Miao area for some time. The two groups of our party thus bade farewell to each other, and each pursued its own course. In the midst of deep valleys and steep mountains, I began to feel loneliness in a strange land with no one

/38 cont./

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

353
[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[177] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
352 against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
[231] covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[354] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
782 room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
769 in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
354 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
000 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

M 353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
[184] Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
[551] above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
[35-] families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
[778] stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M 342 the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
[353] partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
[556] and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
[251] side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
[231] If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
514 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M 251 ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M [913] the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
M 241 cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
171 from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
352 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M 487 Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C 487 waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

2:Ling & Ruey--65 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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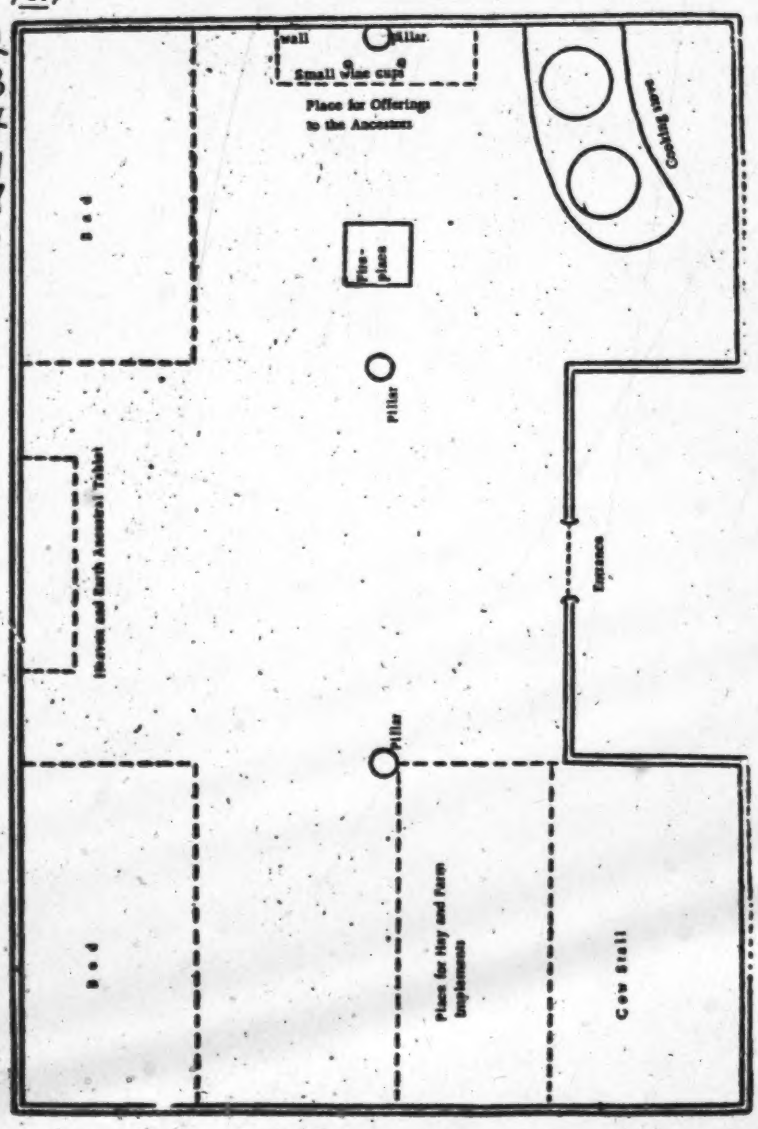

Illustration 15. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lung family among the Miao

2:Ling & Ruey--69 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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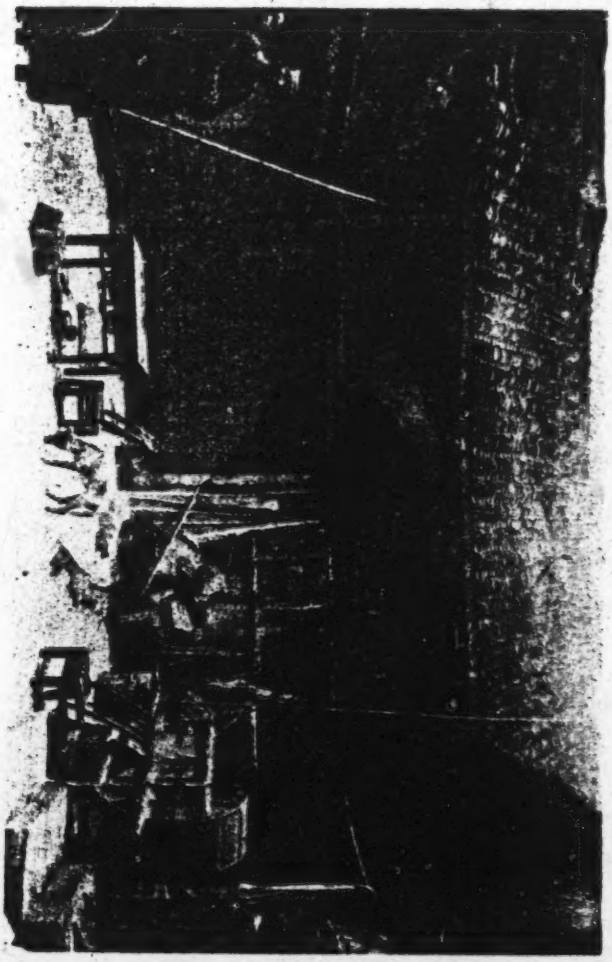

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Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain [227] at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 [227] from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and down stream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The [278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 [492] [262] [241] The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs, chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important. Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese [439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on P. 103]

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
283 from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
291 and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

285 The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
438 bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
782 shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
291 shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
482 and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
854 the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
573 also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
438 After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
171 method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
438 of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
326 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
335 mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

2:Ling & Ruey--105 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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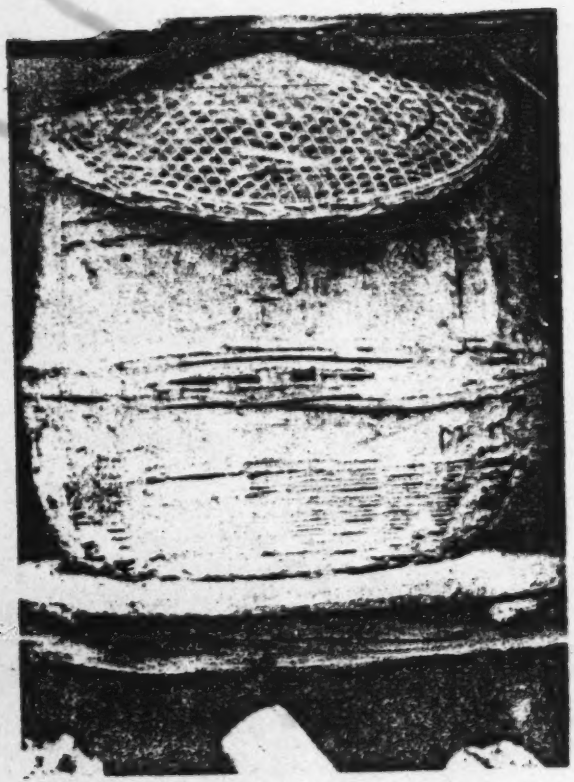

Illus. 39. A honeycomb.

/140 cont./

755 After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed
*782 for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed
[787] to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language
*782 /kuei³ ɲiei¹/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is
842 the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously
[787] ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water
[776] buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by
● [231] middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make
*782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

2: Ling & Ruey--211 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/between pp. 142 and 143./

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Illus. 63. Bludgeoning the Ox.

/149 cont./

*782 787 and women, old and young, in their affairs, and about the family's wealth, crops, and animals, etc. In accordance with the questions asked, I consider the chiao evidence. The yin chiao indicates danger; the yang chiao indicates peace and security; the sheng chiao indicates good luck. Now that the questions *782 to the kuei have been asked, there is only the burning of the paper money. After the paper is burned, it becomes money: he who gets a lot shares a lot; he who receives little, shares little."

The fourth part consists of sending the kuei away [song kuei]. The layout for sending the kuei away is the same as that for invoking them, except that on the table there are added 12 bowls of meat and 12 piles of pa-pa, while the number of bowls of wine remain the same. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bell in his right hand and chiao in his left hand, utters the following incantation:

"All ye kuei gather here to receive sacrifices in meat and wine, 12 bowls of meat, 12 piles of meat. The wine and meat are all spread before you. The kan lo kuei are fond of this wine and meat. Please help yourselves. After helping yourselves, please protect this family, big and small. May they be at peace and without trouble; may they not lose money or rice and *782 not experience lawsuits; may the cattle not have an ●231 epidemic and, while eating grass, may they not fall into a pit; while drinking water, may they not fall into the river; while going up the mountain to plow, may they be safe. Protect the pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks when let loose outside so that at night they may return home by themselves and grow without fodder. May one of them be a thousand or a hundred. May eagles fail to catch the fowls. May the host not fall *782 when he treads on a welter of stones while walking. May the house not be lost by fire. When the host goes

/155 cont./

775 *782 life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

> "Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

243 *782 [231] [776] Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [lio¹ non¹]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'a¹ no¹ kuen¹ mi¹] and [pi¹ no¹ kuen¹ non¹]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

> "The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

/163 cont./ the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.

At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper /la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation. First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen three times, each time scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not increasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/168 cont./

*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [291] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some by-standers' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

[178] As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [550] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[187] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 241 262 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders. Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roots of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

221 261 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The villages of Sze-nan and San-kioh both are important lumber centers. 313

Tigers are reported in the northeastern part of the province. There are also said to be wolves, wild boars, white pheasants, and giant salamanders. I have seen wild cats in the hills and rabbits for sale in the market at Kweiyang. There are many domestic animals, including "yellow cows," water buffalo, pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and chickens. The first two are used as draft animals, for plowing. There are no full-sized horses, but ponies and small mules are used as pack animals. 136 231

In mineral wealth Kweichow is considered to have greater possibilities than any other province of China. Coal is common and may be had for merely scratching the surface. The richest mercury mines in the world are in Kweichow. It is the only mineral exported, although from the iron in Wei-ning cooking vessels are manufactured which are sold all over Yünnan, as well as Kweichow. In addition, there are gold, silver, copper, and nitrate of potash in sufficient quantities to warrant mining them. 135

The province should also be of great interest to botanists. I met in Kweiyang an Austrian who had collected over three hundred species of plants. As I went to market from the mountain village in which I was living to Lung-li I would count the flowering plants I saw. There were never fewer than thirty in blossom, many times more than fifty. At times the hills would be rosy with azaleas, at other times blue with bluebells of several kinds, while during their season more than a hundred white lilies would be in view at certain points. Hedges of wild roses border some of the paths. There are wild fruit trees, berries, and flowering vines. Nearly every flowering plant we grow with much care in our gardens is found wild on the Kweichow mountains. 137

Ashley B-8 (1908-7)1967 AES 2Also AES

Sometimes a day was taken to bring in more fuel, or grass for the animals. The water buffalo were taken out night and morning for a mud or water bath, and ponies were allowed to graze in the meadow, with a small boy to guard them. One day we cut in a field into which they had strayed and in which they had beaten down the plants. Another occupation at this time was the gathering of chestnuts and English walnuts. The custom of tree ownership was in evidence here. One day we gathered from a tree right back of the Huang family temple. One man got up into the tree and beat the branches. Others, including the children, gathered up the burrs and nuts. There was a good harvest. The children had fairly good-sized baskets full, from which they later ate as they wished. There were also several loads of nuts in the burrs, which sold in market for six dollars a *sheng*.[6] Later we gathered from a tree in the wood. Here the tree was not only shaken, but branches were cut off and thrown down, with the burrs on them. A smaller variety, which grew wild on the low bushes on the mountains, was also plentiful.

The last half of the eighth month was rather rainy (after September 20th), with hot, sunny days between hard rains. Fortunately most of the rice had been harvested, but there still remained some of the ordinary rice and *lo mi* which had been left in the fields. This was not beaten out there, but brought in in sheaves, having been cut with the knife blade, not the scythe. *Lo mi* (glutinous rice) straw was used for the making of rice straw sandals, while the other was used for thatch and many other purposes. That not used at once was stacked up around the trees in the wood, a very pretty sight. The rain did not keep people from markets, for grain, chillies, and other seasonable produce had to be sold. The chief other crops at this season were soy and red beans, tobacco, millet, and a wild plant they called *ying tzu*. All of these had to be sunned on the mats, in bundles, or festooned across the front of the houses. Some of the beans and some of the rice from sheaves were

[6] One-tenth of a *sou* (see note 7, p. 33), or 31.6 cubic inches.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

224 Many of the Miao are skilled hunters and they
411 will track animals with a keenness similar to that of an American Red Indian. The wild boar is hunted on foot, and when he charges is knifed with consummate dexterity. The deer is surrounded and chased from point to point until it is exhausted, the dogs entering with zest into the hunt. Pheasants are decoyed, and animals shot with a cross-bow and arrows. Sometimes the arrows are poisoned with a product derived from deadly nightshade.

415 The arts of Miao life are few, their implements for daily use being copied from the Chinese. For
361 mutual protection they live in hamlets or villages,
342 and their houses are mud built and thatched with grass.

342 Let us go into one of these—it is not without interest. You will notice there are two rooms.
231 In the inner room a cow, a few goats and sheep
281 and perhaps a pig are stabled. The cow is needed for ploughing, and the manure for their somewhat barren farm land. From the sheep's wool, capes and sleeping-rugs are woven. Skins from the goats serve as winter jackets for the older men. Morning and evening these cattle pass through the living-room to and from their grazing-grounds.

342 The living-room is a most extraordinary apartment, since it serves as kitchen, dining-room, guest chamber and, when night comes, as bedroom.
354 In the centre of the earthen floor a coal or wood fire burns, and if the wood be damp your eyes will smart and sting, since the only outlet for the smoke
352 is the door or the roof. Near the fire are a few

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TAu TAu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老瓦灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoↄ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包谷飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.

[278]

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木邦. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten on special occasions.[5]

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron pot or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no

[6 cont.]

291 Miao-I women wear short upper garments without trousers, the lower part of the body being envoloped in a long skirt. Only the Hē Miao women in the east are fond of wearing short skirts above the knee. All the Miao women are highly conscious of beauty; they plan their clothes carefully and spend most of their [294] time on weaving, designing, and embroidery. However, their everyday clothes are simple. It is only on occasions such as weddings, funerals, dances, festivals, fairs, and religious celebrations [7] that they sport their new clothes and silver ornaments in all styles and colors to attract attention. [301]

3) Lodging. Most of the Miao-I tribes live clustered in 361 hamlets in the mountains, except the Chung-chia and the Sui-chia among the I, who live near water, hence the names "Kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao] and "Shui-Chung-chia" [water Chung-chia]. It is said that the Miao-I must live in the high mountains in order to thrive and that if they live at the bottom of the mountains, they would suffer disaster and death. But, today, the Miao-I have gradually learned to live [on the plains] and well-to-do farmers who have moved downhill are increasing in number. Although they cannot avoid pestilence, their suffering is not necessarily more than those living uphill. Most of the Miao-I follow the traditions of their ancestors and live precariously on the cliffs in backward conditions. Their 342 living quarters are generally on one level, but some of the Miao-I in the southeast also build storied houses. In houses of one level men and beasts share the floor, but in the storied [231] houses, men live upstairs and beasts downstairs. An ordinary house has one to three rooms; in the latter case, the rooms are small. If there is only one room, then it is used for cooking, eating, sleeping, and all other purposes. The construction of the houses is rather crude. Except those of a few wealthy families, which are enclosed with wooden or brick walls and covered with mud, tile or slate roofs, an average house is built of bamboo or corn stalks with tree barks as walls and straw for a roof. They are often slanting and dilapidated. Worse still, some of the poorest Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao still live today in mountain caves in conditions as wretched as those in the inferno.

[14 cont.]

241 mountain terrain with poor soil, in which they can grow only corn, buckwheat and mixed grains. They also rear cattle, [231] horses, pigs, and principally sheep. At Wei-ning and Ta-ting, where the territory is highly mountainous, the climate is cold, and the population is thin; it is unfit for raising crops but best fit for grazing. In the southeast the Miao-I areas are comparatively better and suitable for rice cultivation. Besides [283] agriculture they are also engaged in simple handicraft industries, [286] such as home spinning and weaving. The commercial centers 443 of the Miao-I in all areas are the village fairs held during the day for the bartering of goods. The fairs are located like a network in some convenient spots in the cities, on a vacant lot, or on the slope of a hill. They are named after certain cyclic animals such as chicken, dog, cow and so on. At the time of the fair men and women who come from all places number from several hundred to several thousand. At the fair everyday articles of household use are displayed in rows of adjoining straw sheds. A fair is a scene of activity and gaiety. The villages in 778 which the Miao-I live are often endowed with rich resources, but 314 their belief in the earth as the dwelling place of the dragon spirit 316 forbids them to exploit its wealth, such as felling the trees for 784 timber and digging the mines for minerals. Hence their occupations are limited and their culture is backward.

6. Conclusion

000 Having learned from the foregoing the actual conditions of the Miao-I societies in Kweichow, we can realize their precarious situation. Today, enemy hoofs have ravaged half of the country, while the Miao-I areas have risen in importance with the din of guns in our war of resistance. We cannot afford any longer to allow the Miao-I people, who are owners of their lands, to muddle through life in their primitive way of living. It is hoped that the government administration and leaders of the society will begin to pay attention to the Miao-I communities,

[183]

796 The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must at-
[461] tend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after
769 the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar
796 calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I
[262] eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for
796 sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-
231 huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
●[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

[184 cont.]

796 invoke a prosperous harvest. In the afternoon every family contributes a few dimes for the purchase of vegetables and sends a representative to the party, at which rules and regulations are [685] discussed regarding indemnities for damages to crops. He who [212] can write is asked to list the rules on a piece of white paper to be affixed at the village gate. Then on the top of a high mound near the village they set up a straw mark and let loose a din of firecrackers to announce to villages far and near that this village has already passed its laws so that none may go there to violate them.

769 On this day[1] the number of people making sacrifices before 796 the Earth God temple among the Chung-chia is also large, but in addition each family has to prepare separate glutinous rice dumplings and a chicken for sacrifice to the ancestors. In the afternoon the children would bring dumplings and chicken legs to some nearby river banks to enjoy themselves. Toward evening they would wash their hands and feet in the river before coming home, and this is called "the first wash."

The Seventh Month. The first dragon day of this month is the "new crop festival." On this day all the children of the Hua Miao and Ch'ing Miao [185] wear new clothes. In the morning they would go to the field, each plucking three bunches of grain stalks, which they cook in rice. They also cook a few ears of corn with some blue fish for sacrifice to the ancestors. After the ritual the whole family would sit down to a meal of new rice and 796 corn. The custom of the Chung-chia is similar, except that ●[231] after the sacrifice the new rice and corn are first fed to the dog of the house before they are eaten by men. According to their [773] tradition, it is said that at the time of creation there was no rice in the world, and that a dog brought the seed from heaven for men to plant. It was only then that people had rice for food. So on the "new crop day" each year rice is first fed to the dog to show that his benefaction has not been forgotten. Among the Chung-chia there is another superstition: from the "new crop day" to the time of the autumn harvest no one in the house, old or young, may sit on the doorsill so as to avoid misfortune.

[1] [i.e., the sixth day of the sixth month.--Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Miao AE5
Shan-Thai AL3

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

Besides the Meos' predilection for mountain tops they have other claims to distinction. They are utterly independent and quite fearless. Their passion for freedom compels them to live in the smallest of villages and, apart from such rare events as the invasion of 1860, they will not tolerate chiefs or leaders. If forcibly brought to lower altitudes they are soon taken ill and die. They are normally pacific, but if compelled to fight are apt to eat the livers of slain enemies. M 181

The Meos are the only people in Indo-China who are not in the slightest concerned with evil spirits, although they admit their existence. Their complete indifference to all the ghouls and devils that plague the races surrounding them has invested them with enormous prestige, which they are careful to cultivate. They like to encourage the belief, prevalent among the Thais, that they are were-wolves and can turn into tigers at wish. They have no funerary cults but celebrate a funeral – or any other event providing the slightest excuse – with orgies of drinking. Husbands and wives keep their own property. Children are given the greatest degree of freedom; and sexual promiscuity before marriage – even with strangers – is general. 'Sacred groves' exist – there is a celebrated one at Dong-Van in Tonkin – to which Meo girls resort, and offer themselves freely to all comers. It is said that large-scale maps, upon which the locations of such groves have been scrupulously plotted, are the prized possessions of most French garrisons in Tonkin. Besides breeding fine, white dogs, they are experts at taming monkeys and birds, particularly a kind of minah which they teach a wide repertoire of imitative sounds. The Meos will only part with their animals for an enormous price – payable in solid silver which they immediately convert into massive jewellery. M 771 M 836 M 231 435

But the first village beyond Muong Kassy, perched on a bare hill-top and reached laboriously up a long winding path, proved not to belong to Meos but the 'black' Thais – so called from the distinctive dress of their women. It was like climbing up to an eagle's eyrie and finding crows in possession. A rare species of crow though. Check- ST 361

in a long rectangle. That of the leader, where I stayed for 24 hours, was 12 by five meters and was divided into three rooms approximately equal in size. At one end, food for the men and food for the pigs was cooked successively in an enormous cast basin resting on a hearth formed by a hollowed-out cube of earth left standing on the platform when the foundations were dug. In the middle was a common room where camp beds were spread out and where the surface of a fragile altar decorated with paper sapeks bore cups of alcohol and sticks of incense (1). Finally, a room at the other end without direct communica-

1. Next to it, four chicken feathers glued to a sheet of paper which was spotted with blood reminded the inhabitants of the periodical sacrifice to the genii of the house.

tion with the outside was provided with a large camp bed and contained a well closed-off chamber where wooden chests held the family wealth -- ceremonial garments, jewelry and salt reserves. In the /234/ kitchen, an alcove served as an extra bedroom. The interior plan may vary greatly in detail, as may be judged by a plan taken from a neighboring hamlet (Fig. 23) (1). I also saw a much smaller

1. However, the house described above would be the typical Mèo house, according to Father Savina, (114), p. 190.

house -- five by three meters -- which contained only two rooms.

The furnishings may be distinguished from Man furnishings by the presence of numerous wooden objects -- troughs, buckets and large spoons and bowls which have been very well made by the Mèo themselves. The foot pestle is outside under the overhang of the roof, or inside like the mill for crushing maize, an assembly of two large round stones, one of which turns on top of the other moved by an eccentric lever (2). Water is brought near the house by a system of

2. This instrument seems to be peculiar to the Mèo. However Colonel Bonifacy found it among Lan Tien Man also (43), p. 178).

bamboo canals often several hundred meters long. Next to the dwelling, a rectangular granary holds the reserves of paddy and maize which would not fit under the rafters, and the pigs are fattened in long, raised

pens made of bamboo. Mèo women excel in raising these pigs, which are of a special variety. They know how to dose the maize and leave it whole or break it up into particles of varying size according as it is to be used to feed a male shut in its narrow pen, a female with a litter, a pregnant female, or the young pigs which come and go freely in the house like the chickens. A few Mèo of Thanh Hoá -- the wealthiest ones -- also have a horse to ride to market, and buffalo. But the latter wander about over the mountains and are hardly ever slaughtered except for funerals. Mi 231

Like the Man, the Mèo of the province cultivate only rẫy, and change their site every two, three or four years. On the hills and even slopes they sow rice broadcast in the third and fourth months and harvest it in the ninth and tenth months. I have seen some with superb, well-filled husks and enormous grains (3). Elsewhere, in /235/ the Mi 241

> 3. The Mèo grow chiefly common rice, and little of the glutinous kind, in contrast to the Thai. On the other hand, the latter do not sow their mountain rice broadcast, but place it in holes.

basins, they alternate maize which is sowed in holes and grows and ripens from the second to the eighth month (1) with opium which is

> 1. In the Thai rẫy of the same region, situated at a lower altitude, maize is harvested in the sixth month.

sowed broadcast in the eighth month. Besides maize and rice which form the basis of their food supply, the Mèo grow a few batatas, some cassava and some sugar cane.

The women busy themselves with hemp, with which they weave nearly all the cloth the family needs. From this material dyed blue or left white, they make their peculiar and rather funny clothing, the upper part of which is like that of a sailor and the lower part like that of a dancer -- a little jacket with a sailor collar and narrow sleeves, and a skirt which comes down only to the knee but which has so many pleats that it becomes very heavy. The women also wear long leggings and high turbans, and on holidays the collars and skirts of their garments are brightened with white on blue designs and with a childish mass of tricolored materials. Mi 287 291

Hospitable people, the Mèo of Thanh Hoá have remained timid 000

[157 cont.]

342 where the ancestral altar is located. On either side of this hall of
353 honor are located the kitchen and the rooms in which the members of the household sleep.

The various compartments are separated by simple partitions of mud, planks, or crushed bamboo.

352 The hall of honor usually contains a large cot bed where the
513 visitors sleep. In normal times this room is very cluttered. The agricultural implements are heaped up here and the packsaddles and the harness. Here are stored the harvested crops in big baskets standing on the ground or resting on horizontal logs. Here one usually finds a table, some benches, and some chests.

The bedchambers are provided with cot beds of wood and chests in which the jewelry and clothing are stored. Well-to-do people have, in addition, matting, blankets, and even pillows.

354 In the center of the kitchen the cookstove is located. It consists of a raised area formed of pisé or of large stones. There is neither chimney nor fire screen. The smoke spreads freely throughout the room and throughout the house and escapes through the holes between the top of the walls and the roof. The cookstove sometimes is replaced or supplemented by a large iron tripod. The kitchen
415 utensils most frequently are restricted to large iron pans in the shape of a spherical skullcap, of which we have spoken in connection with the preceding groups, whose size varies according to the wealth of the owner and the number of guests whom he may be able to receive. These pots, placed in position on the cookstove or the tripod, serve alike in the preparation of meals for people or food for animals. The table utensils consist of wooden or copper plates, bowls, teacups and saucers of Chinese porcelain, and wooden spoons. The "Méo" use, in addition, earthenware jars and wooden buckets.

356 The "Méo" cabins can hardly be said to shine with cleanliness. Dust and dirt accumulate on all of the objects, which are almost never [158] cleaned, even the table utensils. Furthermore, should a European, whom circumstances have brought to lodge in a "Méo" cabin, undertake a serious cleaning, it would greatly astound the members of the household.

231 The domestic animals (pigs, goats, buffaloes, steers) are
343 stabled in a structure separated from the house, enclosed by large

[158 cont.]

231 logs with the floor slightly raised by means of logs laid horizontally
343 on the ground. (Photo 116, Plate 27.) Naturally, this pen for the animals is no more frequently cleaned than is the inside of the house, with the result that the liquid manure and the excrement soon form nauseous seas which it is necessary to cross painfully in order to reach the house.

The "Méo" have excellent little horses (average height – about
231 1.20 meters, like the Chinese or Tonkinese horses) sturdy, sensible, very handy, and very sure-footed. These horses are never groomed, are fed with a little grass (a special grass called "ma-tsao" or horse's grass), with bamboo leaves and a few handfuls of maize. They gen-
[343] erally are tied under a little lean-to resting against the house.

The "Méo-" have a special breed of white dogs, with silky and very thick hair of medium length.

The fowls (hens, guinea hens, ducks, and so on) roam at
[343] liberty around the house during the day and roost at night in a coop usually located above or near to the stable. The wildcats, which
[136] are numerous in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, frequently do frightful slaughter among the "Méo" poultry.

In view of their spirit of independence, the "Méo" most often
361 live off by themselves, in groups of five or six cabins, and only very seldom form sizeable settlements. However, in the region of Pha-Long – Pakha, where the "Méo" group forms the majority of the population, several "Méo" villages exist which number from twenty to thirty cabins. Be that as it may, the "Méo" village is always perched very near to the summits of the mountains, at the foot of the crags; difficult mule-trails with very abrupt slopes permit access to these villages; still the climb on foot is infinitely preferable to the trip on horseback.

("Méo" houses appear in the following photographs: 346, Plate 36; 347, Plate 41; 445, Plate 38; 135, Plate 43. The last three show villages.)

In the hamlets and villages of the "Méo," the houses are built
361 according to the inclination of the occupants, without thought of
364 alignment or of streets, the enclosures for the animals close to the dwelling houses. Despite the open air and the sun which bathe the

[159 cont.]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

248 The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

● 231 The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose honey is used in cake-making.

244 They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

[169 cont.]

M 524 in a vertical direction, and each of its ends may lift themselves up to a height double that of the post. A youngster takes his place (astraddle or on his stomach) at each end of the pole, to which a rather rapid movement of horizontal rotation is given, combined with a vertical movement. These movements are induced by each one of the youngsters, who in his turn pushes against the ground. (Photo 168, Plate 42, shows one of these turning seesaws.) Some M [536] [231] "Méo" are strolling entertainers and train performing monkeys. (Photo 385, Plate 42.)

M 231 We have found, in a rather large number of "Méo" homes, the [170] blackbirds known by the name of "mandarin blackbirds." They are slightly larger than our blackbirds. The beak is big and yellow; they have a hood and a little collar of yellow skin. Their ability to imitate is certainly surprising, for, not content with whistling like ordinary blackbirds, they imitate perfectly all the noises they hear: wails of the newborn, whinnying of horses, baying of dogs, coughs, gurglings of the water pipe, gratings of doors, and so on. These birds sell for very high prices.

[171] [Blank page in original text.]

[172] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

[173] CHAPTER V

THE "LOLO" GROUP

L 101 131 161 The "Lolo," who form sizeable groupings in the provinces in the south of China, are represented in Tonkinese territory by only a few tribes, very unequally distributed along the frontier, from Baolac to near Phongtho, the total number of individuals in them scarcely exceeding 12,000.

L 131 361 The densest settlements are found in the region of Baolac, which contain the majority of the group, whose villages are more or

155: Abadie--240 G-5 (no date) 1924 AM1 Indochina/
M100 AE5

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342
[231]
[854]
[482]

[162]

103. "Peu-Méo" Women.

105. "Peu-Méo" Women.

[443]

[285]
[415]

107. "Méo" Market.

419. "Hoa-Méo" Woman.
(Pakha)

[168]

764

199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

524

342
231

168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

/52 cont./

851 are eaten immediately, and their blood is sprinkled on a piece of paper which is then pasted on the wall opposite the entrance [776] door. Chicken feathers are pasted around this paper in honor of the tutelary divinity Xa Xing."

I myself made the following observations:

[782] [775] A pair of chickens, a cock and a hen, is sacrificed to the pair of spirits who introduced the soul of a deceased ancestor into the newborn child (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul"). These [231] two animals are killed by having their throats cut, are plucked whole, eviscerated, and cooked. Some of the chicken blood is allowed to drip on the paper of the spirits and is burned while the spirits are invoked. At the main entrance of the house in which the birth took place, a small basket is set in the frame of the opened door, the pair of cooked chickens is placed upon it, and two incense candles are attached. Now the shaman appears and throws his ordeal /oracle/ horns (see the chapter, [787] "Religion and Magic," section on "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens"), in order to find out whether the omens may be regarded as favorable. Next he begins to evoke [782] the souls of the deceased ancestors. For this purpose he lights the incense candles and puts the sacrificial chickens on their breasts, that is, with their backs upward, and their outstretched legs pointing toward the open door. Then he stands erect in front of the door of the house, with his back turned toward the interior, and murmurs conjurations.

While they are going on, for the better part of an hour, [521] those present, relatives and friends in addition to the parents and children, converse with one another loudly and undisturbed. [854] The mother with the newborn child, which was washed for the first and probably the only time until it is able to walk, /53/ sits somewhat apart in the room and holds the baby on her lap. Her husband does the housework, sets the room in order, looks after the food which is cooking on the hearth, and, in short, goes about his business. A second child, about three years old, [853] is shouting at the top of its lungs and is jealously trying to get his little brother away from the mother's breast so that he himself can drink. He is prevented from doing so, however, by the mother.

/74 cont./

A 881 [883] [291] of sexual enjoyment, all their thoughts are now concentrated upon sexual life, which is enjoyed to the full. The only difference as compared to the earlier state is a purely external feature in the clothing. In place of the children's caps, the girls now wear the bamboo covering and the boys the turban as a sign of maturity (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Fig. 228 and Fig. 229 and Colored Pl. I, Nos. 7 and 8).[3 A]

A M 881 Otherwise, puberty does not bring about any change in the way of life among either the Akha or Meau. They perform their duties in the same manner as before (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"), are not secluded, and speak little about their past childhood.

5. Attitude toward Animals

A M 231 Although the same conditions seem to prevail among both peoples, there are basic differences between the Meau and the Akha in their attitude toward animals.

M 231 857 The children of both peoples come into contact with animals a good deal. In general, the children of the Meau love animals very much and like to spend their time with the domesticated animals. Only the pigs are definitely /75/ disliked. This is explained by the fact that the children of both peoples have to tend the pigs, and carrying their food is heavy work that is sometimes almost beyond the strength of the children (Ill. 44).[3 A] Dogs, on the other hand, are especially well liked. The children play tussle, and frolic about with them, and sometimes the children amuse themselves by exchanging roles with the dogs. Then the child plays the part of the dog, and the dog, whose hair is combed up like that of a child, represents the child. They talk to them, and until they are seven or eight, the children believe that the dog understands every word. They like to have the dog join various games in which parts are played; he will represent a cow or bull, is saddled, and the like. Compared with the importance of the dog, that of the other animals caught for play, such as mice, birds, butterflies, small beetles, is very little. The insects caught are allowed to fly around within the range of a

1 A [see cat. 116, p296 - ANALYST]
2 A [" " , p120- "]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A [857] observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1/2 [see cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [79] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphemalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's [202] celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

28 29

Fig. 28-29. Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. 231 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. 534 There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of 177 bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

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31

M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with silver (Ill. 12), they posted themselves beside our tent and began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experience on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

A
527 These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
[535] following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
M
[527] turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29 appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too,
A had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
[123] of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
[782] the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least.
A They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
[252] out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and
A

[see cat 116, P37- ANALYST]

[TEXT continues on P214]

/167 cont./

776 [829] [773] know the deities of the neighboring tribes, but that they neither fear or revere them. The memory of the heroes of ancient times has also been lost. Thus they do not know who brought them their cultural goods, for instance, fire (for the spirit ta ho lu pin merely has to watch over the fire!), nor to whom they owe their social institutions.

In general the Meau do not know of any hierarchy of the spirits. It is of no consequence, for instance, that the teacher-spirit of the smithy has two assistant spirits whereas the spirit helping the doctor acts without any. All these spirits are more or less neutral in relation to one another and equal in rank, even when they appear as spirit pairs.

231 776 There are also /168/ spirits that are intentionally created by human beings. Among animals, dogs are the best friends of the Meau, and even the small child chooses the dog as his playmate, believing that it directly understands him. The adult Meau also appreciates the watchfulness of the dog, which guards the house against evil persons. Hence it is easy to understand how the conception arose that a dead dog would become a guardian spirit, who in the realm of the spirits, who live so [775] much like human beings, would play a role similar to that of the adult, live dog in the realm of human beings. This guardian-spirit dog protects the houses of the Meau against evil spirits. In order to create such a spirit a dog is killed in a prescribed manner. Since it is believed that the dog's age does not matter and that a newborn dog fulfills the same purpose as a full-grown animal, a newborn dog is, of course, usually selected for the guardian spirit. It will also carry out its task as a full-grown watchdog in the other world. The dog selected, usually a young dog, is killed either by hanging it from a noose and letting it struggle to death or by cutting its throat (Ill. 101).[1] Such a [782] killing therefore does not represent a sacrifice, but the creation of a guardian spirit.

1 [See cat. 116, p 666 - ANALYST]

/168 cont./

231 776 [731] [789] [243] If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] [775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen dọ nă thu /169/ pẹ̆ dŏ. Savina (1) [114] [773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty. [931] [825] [224]

[993] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the [821] [626]

/182 cont./

755 787 [782] All those present tensely watch the horn oracle, which finally indicates a favorable outcome. Then Chief Tsin Tsai steps forward with the sick son and the eldest son, all three kneel down on the ground before the shaman, facing the altar, fold their hands in prayer in the manner of devout Catholics, and beseech the spirits to come and to help. Now the two sons step back, and the chief picks up the gong and begins to beat it. In the meantime, the shaman covers his face with the black cloth so as to be able to see the spirits as soon as they appear. With his left hand he reaches for the magic rattle (see the chapter, "Art," Fig. 31), sits down on the bench in front of the altar, stamps with both feet, simultaneously to the rhythm of the gong beats, and, in the same rhythm, strikes the back of his right hand on his right knee and the magic rattle on his left knee, all the while moving the upper part of his body backward and forward rattling sounds, like "brrr" and "krrr," are heard uninterruptedly along with his, and in the midst of it his conjurations in a half-sung, half-spoken cadence. Then his motions slow down, and his words are more clearly pronounced, while the eyes of everyone present hang on the shaman's lips, for through him the spirits announce their orders and revelations.

After about ten minutes the chief stops beating the gong, but the shaman continues his actions. His words shape themselves into an order: "The soul of Lü has traveled beyond the clouds; evil spirits are holding it, preventing its return. Sacrifice a pig."

755 782 ●[231] The eldest son immediately fetches a small pig and puts the sacrificial /183/ animal upon a second bench behind the shaman. Other members of the family hold the animal firmly by the snout. The eldest son cuts its throat, and someone catches the blood spurting from the veins in a bowl. The chief dips spirit-money (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50) into the blood and burns it with the pious words: "Spirits, I offer you my pig. Enjoy eating it and help my son get well!" He then takes the spirit-755 sword (Fig. 55) and with it draws a line on the ground, which clearly includes the place of sacrifice in the altar area and

/206 cont./

796 [782 769 526 241] Maspero describes the New Year's festival similarly: "The New Year's festival comes after the harvest. 'The year is devoured,' by sacrificing a pig to the ancestors and eating it communally with all the neighbors. Boys and girls then play ball and dance and sing at night around a tree that the village sorcerer has selected, in order to increase the fertility of the new year."

782 796 Aside from this one principal sacrifice of the year, sacrifices are offered, as has been said, in part at certain times and in part at every important occasion, such as setting out to hunt, housebuilding (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," section on the building of a dwelling), village and field [184] arrangements, /207/ and cultivation of the fields. Maspero (1)

1. Page 244.

has made similar observations in Indochina and points out that in connection with sowing a chicken and incense (incense candles are meant, note Dr. B.) are sacrificed to the mountain god.

782 On such occasions one always turns to those spirits in whose ● 231 realm fall the activities for which protection and help is sought. [776] The extent of the sacrifice varies from a handful of field produce to a chicken or a pig, depending on the importance of the undertaking; cattle, horses, or buffalo are never sacrificed, however. In the Chinese literature (2) there are several reports of dogs as

2. ChHch'kfsch. II, ch. 10, p. 38, and ITG, 471 25b.

sacrificial animals. I believe, however, that this is not a matter of a sacrifice, but rather the creation of guardian spirits, as I have described it in the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter.

The Chinese literature (3) also mentions the buffalo as a

3. North-China Br., 1859, p. 285, and Album Gotha, No. 19.

/207 cont./

782 231 sacrificial animal among the Meau in China. Whether the slaughtering of buffalo in connection with weddings and mourning mentioned in the old Chinese literature, according to Eberhard (4), was done as a sacrifice or only for provisions for

4. II, p. 252.

the guests is not revealed from the description.

782 Burnt offerings play an important role. Among them are the burning of incense candles and the burning of the fat-lamp (Fig. 51) on the altar during the sacrificial act and conjurations, at which, however, there is at the same time the practical and previously mentioned thought that the spirits, like human beings, need light in order to see. Wax candles are sometimes lighted instead of the fat-lamp. Also of significance among the Meau [778] is the burning of spirit-money and sacral paper upon which, as already described, blood of the sacrificial animals is dripped. Before slaughtering an animal, the animal is purchased from the spirits by burning under its snout spirit-money of the value [439] of the animal (Ill. 103).[1] Gold paper, which the Meau do not make themselves, but buy from the Lao, is also sacrificed to the high Father-Mother spirit. Since it is difficult to burn, it is [435] folded into small cones before being set afire. Such a tiny shako of gold paper has the spirit-value of 25 silver pieces.

/208/ Any other kind of sacrifice to the ancestors and good spirits is unknown. When sacrifices are made to evil spirits, however, an uneven number of offerings are scattered in all four directions and the evil spirits are requested not to torment people; they are giving them what they have, but they are poor.

243 782 As soon as the first rice has been cut, a small sacrificial hut is erected on the rice field, and a sacrifice, which consists of a thousand ticals in spirit-money, salt, alcohol, and some rice, is offered to the good spirit that dwells in the rice field. All this is placed in the small hut for the spirit.

[1] [sec cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates
[776] this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the
Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
●[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a
[782] rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only
in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore
too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a
name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came
to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them
medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured,
there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her
baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved,
and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of
this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in
spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their chil-
dren, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to
give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be
persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made
it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain
death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[846] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[164] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were
punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

A [778] 1. Page 109.

A [769]

Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

A [688]

A M 782 [231] /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

A M [764] [114]

1. II, p. 200.

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 [364] Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very unsatisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is [296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by [312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects 364 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good 164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child [165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the [356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for [514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see [231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau [361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

Miao AE5

/268 cont./ If needed,

342 sleeping rooms, too, are often built on. The basic form of the houses and the roofs is always the same, however. A pigsty [573] and a chicken coop also belong to each house, whereas cattle [417] are usually kept by only a few families.

[231] Cleanliness is a relative idea. In comparison with the 356 scrupulously clean houses of the Lao, the dwellings of the Meau certainly leave much to be desired. At many houses the refuse lies in front of the door for days before it is removed. In other places one sees the women busy at sweeping the house and washing the dishes regularly. Even on important festive days the appearance of the house and yard does not change much. One recognizes by the old rotten trash covered with soot and dirt until it is beyond recognition, which often fills up the houses, that the Meau women /269/ feel no need to create order. To be sure, each move of the village provides an opportunity for 364 it, and this must suffice. There are no toilets. Places outside the village are sought at random and are well known by the dogs and pigs, since they devour all the excrement with amazing thoroughness and thus perform valuable sanitary service.

342 The ground plan, sketch, cross-section, and drawing of the framework of the chief's house (Figs. 63, 64, 65, and 66) and of the dwelling house (Figs. 67, 68, 69 and 70) with their respective legends indicate the size, construction, and shape of the dwellings without anything more, so I have only a little to add.

[Figures appear on pp 371-377, Text continues on p 378]

39: Bernatzik--372 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/270 cont./

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[231]

Caption for Fig. 63 cont.

M = heavy clay pots with cooked pig-fodder, which is scooped out for use
N = hanging shelf for kitchen utensils
P = larger hearth for cooking
Q = smaller hearth for cooking
R = parking bench
S = family dining table
T 1 to T 4 = sitting benches
U = stairs, tree trunk with notches
X = raised entrance foundation
Z = built-on dye-trough
E 1 = main entrance door
E 2 = secondary entrance door.

Fig. 64 (below). Chief's house in the Meau village Nam Fa, sketch.

Key to symbols:

A = board wall
B = board fastened in front of the wall
C = supporting posts which support the projecting roof
D = elevated forepart
E = main entrance
F = tree trunk with notches as stairs to the entrance E
G = chicken coop
H = longitudinal bamboo poles tied to the roof truss, which hold down the leaf covering on the ridge
K = roof riders of wood rest on the leaf covering and are fastened to the roof truss
L = hip roof on both sides of the house.

/278 cont./

2. Granaries

343 Whereas the dwellings of the Meau are always built on the ground, the granaries rest on piles up to two meters high, in order to protect the field produce from the humidity and from the unwelcome intrusion of mice, rats, pigs, and from the other domestic animals. There are open granaries, which usually are several meters long and three to /279/ four meters high and consist of merely a /Fig. 79 appears here/ platform covered by a leaf-roof. Field produce is stored here as long as it still needs drying. During the rainy season, however, granaries which are closed off by four board-walls and built very solidly are used. They have only one small doorlike opening, through which one has to creep in order to store ears of maize, sheaves of grain, millet, or tubers in it (Fig. 79).

3. Stables

231 343 Although special shelters are always built for chickens and pigs, these domestic animals usually stay in the dwelling during the day or in its immediate vicinity. The pigs lie in the living room under a bench or table or at the hearth, as they please. /Figs. 80-82 appear here/ /280/ while the chickens busily search for food in all the nooks and corners. No scrap is scorned. [417] Chicken coops in the form of large boxes (Figs. 80 and 81) are usually lodged at the house wall. They are made of boards joined together and are closed with a suitable piece of wood (Fig. 80, A). There are also, however, chicken houses resting on piles (Fig. 82).

231 343 417 [550] The pigpens are put together with stout wooden sticks and are of various sizes, according to the wealth of the owner /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ (Fig. 83). There are large troughs for fodder inside the pens (Fig. 84). At night the cattle are housed in hurdle-like stables. In them, on an underlayer of boards that is raised about 15 centimeters and rests on stones, and under a gabled roof covered with palm leaves, they are well-protected from dampness. The hurdle is enclosed on the sides with a

39: Bernatzik--386 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5
Akha A04

M /280 cont./
231 lattice of wooden beams. On the front side some of these beams
343 can be pushed aside in order to let the cattle in or out. Similar
417 hurdles are customary among our mountain peasants.
Lajonquière (1) describes the quarters of the domestic animals in

1. II, p. 305.

almost the same way, and furthermore Abadie (2) and

2. Page 158.

Fig. 83. Pigpen of the Meau. 1/60 natural size.

Fig. 84. Trough for pig fodder. 1/36 nat. size.

Savina (3), too.

3. II, p. 186.

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4. Smithies

The smithy (Figs. 85 and 86) is a small structure built in the fashion of the dwelling, which consists of a workroom open at the sides and a second room enclosed with leaf-walls (E).
M [325] The workroom is enclosed by only a few wooden beams (D) and, appropriately for the steep terrain, is on a platform. In it

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch. .

Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

M [353] the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [513]

M [231]

M 883 [243] Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M [836] [533]

A 361 166 [241] [623] The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] [411] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 411 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned [326] arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 262 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [See acc 116, pp 576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A /348 cont./

224 A difficulty for successful hunting is added among the
[326] Akha, because they do not make the customary flintlock
[439] guns themselves, as the Meau do, but must obtain them from
[411] neighboring tribes. These weapons are therefore very rare
[231] among the Akha, and one generally sees only the crossbow in use (Ill. 30).[1] On the other hand, the Akha have hunting dogs at their disposal, which, on the contrary, are not used among
M [231] the Meau in Thailand, while falcons or other animals trained to
[224] hunt are unknown to both tribes.

Hunting big game is not practiced by the Akha as a rule. They limit themselves to animals up to the size of a deer,
A such as muntjac, wild /349/ pigs, monkeys, and, above all,
223 deer. Various birds are to be added, but vultures, ravens,
[262] or hornbills are not hunted, since they are not eaten.

They also know how to catch live parakeets, small parrots, and wild doves very skillfully with lime twigs and decoys (Ill. 31[2] and Figs. 260 and 261). In order to catch them with lime twigs, a wooden frame (Fig. 260, A) is erected on the house roof and to its upper end are fastened crosswise two
A wooden crosspieces smeared with lime (B). The birdlime re-
[314] quired is made from the juice of a rubber-type liana. It is pounded in a mortar with a mallet until it changes into a viscous lime whose most valuable property is its invariable consistency and stickiness.

A Among the Akha, too, no animal that they know how to
224 overcome is spared, and they hunt in all seasons without
[185] observing any closed seasons. Accordingly, what has been said about the Meau also applies for the Akha: a short time after a village is established, its surroundings is "cleared," even though involuntarily, of game.

Whereas the Meau exclusively practice the individual hunting described, communal hunts and hunting drives take place as a rule among the Akha. Since the external picture of the hunting grounds is the same for both tribes, might not this difference ultimately be traced back to the use of non-use of hunting dogs, as well as to the fact that the Akha do not hunt dangerous big game. The Akha, too, use no clothing

1 [See cat 116, P249 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , P250 - "]

39: Bernatzik--495 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

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Miao AE5

/365 cont./

e) Animal Husbandry

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[262]
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The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.

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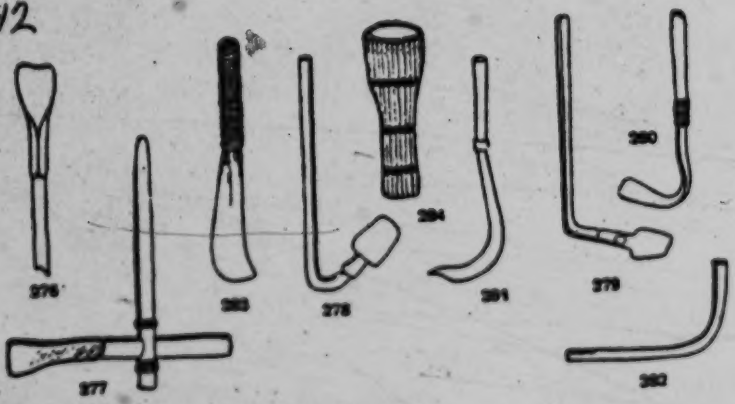

Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

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[243]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of
[342] maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand
[492] use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the
[178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.

/367 cont./

231 The dogs kept in northern Thailand to guard the houses differ completely from the breed of dog that Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ described in his enumeration of the domestic animals of the Meau and from the animals described by Abadie (3) as having white, silky, longish, and very thick

3. Page 158.

fur. Innumerable barking dogs, red, black, and more rarely white in color, which resemble the Chinese chow, but are slenderer in body build and somewhat weaker, are found here. They feed on scraps and all kinds of refuse and, as has been mentioned, regard human feces as precious delicacies. For the Meau dogs are also animals to be killed in order to create a guardian spirit, as has /368/ been described in detail in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The meat of dogs is not [262] eaten any more than is that of the numerous cats that watch for mice in the houses, granaries, and stables.

Chickens are also very important. They are present in every household and are identical with the small wild fowl, the original form of our domestic chicken. They, too, are put in special coops during the night by the Meau (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Figs. 80-82) and are regularly fed twice a day. At harvest time they are taken in special carrying baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 338 and 339) to the harvested fields, in which abundant feed is still to be found. Abadie (1) gives a similar description about Indo-

1. Page 158.

china: "The poultry (chickens, turkeys, ducks, etc.) roam about freely during the day and sleep in a chicken coop which is usually above or next to the stable. Tiger cats, which are [136] common in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, often kill hecatombs of the poultry of the Meau."

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial animals, but only sporadically.

262 Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
782 parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand,
184 so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
556 wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
276 are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
432 live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
281 family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
439 animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
492 horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the
432 stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely empty. The Meau never sell them.

/369 cont./

231 "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples [432] raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

[422] I could learn no more about property marks on animals than other authors mention them. Informants whom I questioned explained to me that every owner knows his animals without this.

[171] Whereas most of the other peoples of Farther India practice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

Among the Meau in Thailand, one sporadically comes across so-called "mandarin blackbirds" /Mandarinenamseln/, which are said to be kept as ornamental birds and traded for high prices.

232 Among the Meau whom I visited, the castration of domestic animals is widespread. This is not limited to pigs, cattle, and horses, but includes even dogs and chickens. The animals are castrated by cutting open the scrotum, tying up the reproductive gland, and sewing up the scrotum again. An exception is made in the case of cattle, whose scrotum is clamped between sticks and smashed with a cudgel. In answer to my question as to why so cruel a procedure is used for them, the Meau were of the opinion that it was nothing for the cattle, that they are much less sensitive to pain than horses.

/369 cont./

M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44) is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46) and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [342] [364]

A [262] [492] [272] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin which has become a habit.

1 [see cat 116, p 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 332- "]

/373 cont./

257 [251] Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 [252] As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunting booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

243 Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without 252 any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy [23] [272] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice

/399 cont./

285 482 Fig. 333 = back-basket, most common shape, various kinds of plaiting, with leather straps, wide plaited bands, or twisted strings as carrying straps. Type of plaiting, Fig. 334: every cross-strip consists of three overlapping bamboo strips one centimeter wide. A narrow strip is interwoven vertically. Type of plaiting, Fig. 335: between /Figs. 333-337 appear here/ every cross-strip two centimeters wide there is an equally wide space. Very narrow vertical strips of split rattan, only four millimeters wide.

Fig. 336 = a very common, strong form of the carrying baskets, which are also used as harvest baskets. Vertical strips of cane three centimeters wide are attached over a tight inner wall plaited with bamboo strips four millimeters wide (Figs. 336 and 337) by means of some crosscords. Carrying straps of strips of hide (Ill. 93). 1/A

285 /400/ Figs. 338 and 339: chicken baskets, loosely [231] plaited with narrow bamboo strips. Cover and door tied on.

Fig. 340 = flat basket, used as a strainer.

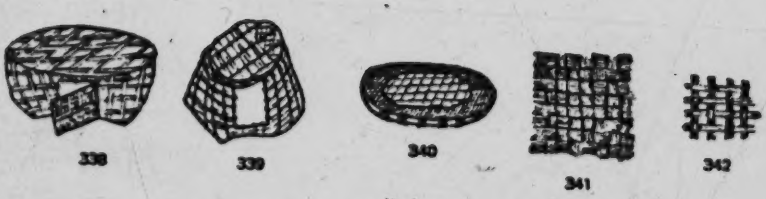
Outer edge (Fig. 341) of tight plaiting of bamboo strips three millimeters wide, plaited loosely within (Fig. 342) with the same material. /Figs. 338-342 appear here./

[243] Fig. 343 = large, flat rice-basket for separating the grain from the chaff. Hulled rice is shaken in it and the chaff blown away. Inner plaiting (Fig. 344) like the plaiting pattern of mats, except for wider bamboo strips about 13 millimeters wide.

[415] Fig. 345 = large supply-basket. Plaiting (Fig. 346) of bamboo strips three centimeters wide. Loosely plaited, vertical walls. There is every size of such baskets. /Figs. 343-346 appear here./

To be mentioned here also are the hanging baskets for the storing of dishes, as is described under Fig. 131 in the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils."

39: Bernatzik--540 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5



[231] Figs. 338-339. Meau Baskets for Carrying Chickens, 1/22 nat. size.

[415] Figs. 340-342. Plaited Strainer of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

Fig. 341, outer plaiting, and Fig. 342, inner plaiting.

[243] Figs. 343-344. Flat Rice-basket of the Meau, about 1/12 nat. size.
Fig. 344. Pattern of the interior plaiting.

[415] Figs. 345-346. Supply Basket of the Meau, 1/133 nat. size.
Fig. 346. Sample of plaiting.

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/421/

A 487 [36] [46] The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. Moreover, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M [283] of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M [231] [171] [285] In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of rattan (Fig. 422).

1 [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p643- "]
3 [" " " p596- "]

/432 cont./

805 821 192 According to my observations, the times of day are reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lŭn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gĕ. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tŏă, noon, nū tse ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kŭu, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, [517] can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

/433 cont./

M 512 If there is no fieldwork to be done, the men do not get up until the third crowing of the cocks, that is, about six o'clock. Even so, the women have arisen earlier, ground the rice, cooked breakfast, and prepared some food to be taken along. After the breakfast together, the men set out for the forest in order to hunt, fish, or to prepare firewood or timber and do not return until shortly before nightfall. On such days the women devote their time to housework. Then cloth is woven, yarn is spun and dyed, batik patterns are drawn with the wax pen, and the children and domestic animals cared for. When the men M [231] [252] return at dusk, there follows the same daily care of the animals, the preparation of the grain for the following day, and finally the fading sounds of the evening rest.

A 805 In the same manner as the Meau, the Akha reckon by days, which they call tĭnā. Thirty days likewise represent the month, called bălă̆; twelve months, which are likewise reckoned by moons, are the year, tĭkō. It begins, however, at a somewhat earlier time than that of the Meau, namely, four A [796] days before the new moon in December, and for the Akha, too, this is the great holiday season of the year. They, too, occasionally postpone the festivities for practical reasons. For example, the Akha who had had their dwelling site on the Doy A [361] [796] Tung Mountain in northern Thailand felt themselves obliged to move it at once because of the measures directed against them by the Thailand government. For this reason /434/ they postponed their New Year's celebration for one month in order, as they said, to offer the great sacrifices to their spirits on the spot where they intended to erect their new village. This is A [776] all the more understandable if one remembers the important role that lŏkā, the guardian spirit, plays among them, to whom a new gate at the village entrance is erected every year (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits").

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/436 cont./

A 512 [264] baskets and mats. About eight o'clock the morning meal is finally ready, is eaten together by the family, and only then does the actual work of the day begin.

A [887] During the period of the work in the fields, the younger people leave the house in order to go to the fields; only the old people, the grandparents, remain behind to watch over the houses. The Akha, too, take food with them to the fields A [264] and eat it cold during a pause at midday. Sometimes, however, the women, too, stay at home and do the domestic tasks, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and caring for the children and domestic animals, as among the Meau.

During the period after the harvest, the men may go hunting or the occupants of the house may go fishing together. A [264] In these cases, too, the cooked food for midday is taken along. They always return home at sunset, and often even later during the 312 period of the fieldwork. Here water must now be fetched and 252 the rice hulled by the women, but the men help them with this (Ill. 39) as with the cooking and then the evening meal is eaten. 276 Later, the old people sit together and smoke tobacco and opium, 883 while the young people leave the houses, visit one another, and go on romantic adventures. Around ten o'clock, however, everybody is usually already in bed and asleep, for the days are filled with hard and strenuous work. At the time of the festivals, A [527] on the other hand, the entertainment often lasts through most of the nights and the sound of the mouth organs does not die away until dawn.

/437/

Chapter 26

Men's Work and Women's Work

M 462 Besides a whole number of tasks that are performed together by both sexes, various tasks among the Meau are reserved for the one or the other sex. The strictly observed division of M [231] labor begins in childhood. Exclusively men's work is the following: hunting, climbing trees, making planks and posts, felling

1 n [see cat 116, p272- ANALYST]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

39: Bernatzik--596 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947
AO1 Thailand
/Between pp. 442 and 443/ Miao AE5

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Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox among the Meau.

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Ill. 82. Meau smith in his workshop.

39: Bernatzik--666 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Between pp. 490 and 491/

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Ill. 101. Creating a guardian spirit among the Meau. The throat of a newborn dog is cut.

39: Bernatzik--704 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 522/

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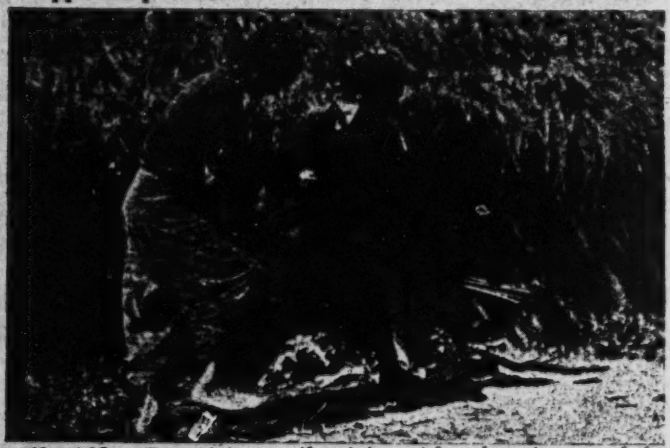

Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits with a burning torch by the shaman of the Meau (right) and his assistant.

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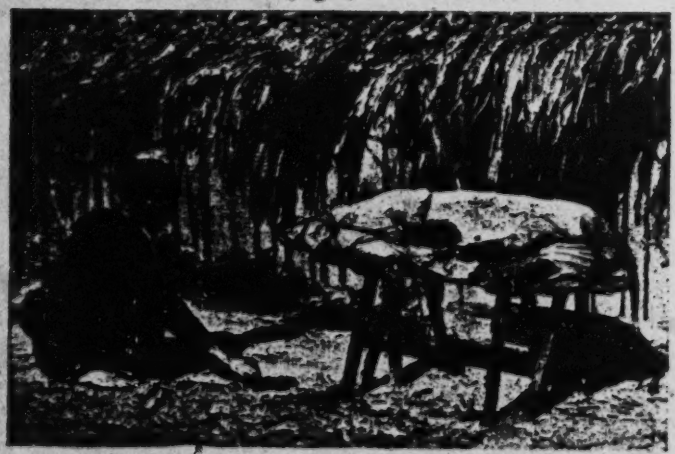

Ill. 103. Before the slaughtering, the pig is purchased from the spirits by the Meau by burning spirit-money under the snout of the animal.

39: Bernatzik--726 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VII cont./

231 492 Ill. 81. Saddling a pack ox. The Meau breed small, reddish-brown, humped cattle which are good pack animals. Saddles of wood with thick straw or cotton underlayers are used.

/VIII/

Ills. 82-90. Handicrafts.

325 [415] Ill. 82. A smith in his workshop. With the help of a bellows, which he is operating with his left hand, he is just about to melt silver in a stone crucible over a charcoal fire. In the right foreground, the mold is ready. It consists of a cotton-covered wooden frame in the shape of the silver bars desired, and floats in a gourd shell filled with water. Note the tools, all of which have been made by the smith himself.

322 412 Ill. 83. Drill for working wood. By inserting iron drills of different sizes, various holes are made. The work of the hands is aided by the feet.

289 Ill. 84. Making paper for sacral purposes. Bamboo shavings are boiled with wood ashes and then crushed with a wooden club. Larger pieces of wood are removed.

Ill. 85. After the addition of a neutralizing agent, the wood pulp, finally predominantly homogeneous, is poured on cotton cloth and dried in the sun. The finished sheets of paper are carefully removed with a bone knife.

386 531 Ill. 86. Batik work on hemp cloth. With a brass pen, which is lying under the wrist, the pattern is applied in wax. The cloth is then dipped several times in blue dye and dried in the sun. This is repeated until the desired indigo-blue color is achieved. Then the wax is boiled off. The places previously covered with wax now stand out clearly from the dark-blue background.

294 Ill. 87. Girl sewing a new pleated skirt. The Meau girls are excellent and industrious seamstresses. It is particularly difficult to work on the harsh hemp fabric.

/IX cont./

231 Ill. 101. The dog is a beloved friend of the Meau. They believe that the soul of a dead dog plays a role in the other world, in the realm of the spirits, similar to the one it plays in the life of men. The throat of a newborn dog is cut so that it, as a guardian, will protect the house against sickness and evil spirits.
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756 Ill. 102. Exorcising evil spirits by means of the shaman (right) and his assistant. The former is holding a burning torch, into which he throws gunpowder held in readiness by the assistant. The leaping flame, the smoke, and the stench are supposed to drive away the evil spirits.
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231 Ill. 103. Before being slaughtered, the pig is purchased from the spirits by burning spirit-money representing the value of the animal under the snout of the animal.
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Ills. 104-108. Houses and settlement.

343 Ill. 104. Work-hut in a rice field. In the left foreground, the typical Meau carrier.
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482 /XI

Ill. 105. Simple dwelling of the Meau, with walls and doors made of halved bamboo tubes. Beside the entrance stand long bamboo tubes with the partitioning walls pushed out, which serve as water containers.
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[415]

353 Ill. 106. Flash-light photograph in the interior of a house of the White Meau. The family having a meal. In the background on the right, the mud hearth with the Chinese iron kettle. Household utensils hang down along the walls and from the ceiling of the storage loft.
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622 Ill. 107. A chief of the Black Meau in his dwelling at mealtime. The furniture is peculiar, differing basically from that of the Chinese and showing a striking resemblance to the furniture of the mountain peasants in the Alps. In the foreground on the right, the oldest son; to the left, two daughters of the chief. Various kitchen utensils are hanging on the house wall.
[264]
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